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CASE STATED.

CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW YORK, 29 WILLIAM STREET, *Oct.* 8, 1862.

Hon. HORATIO SEYMOUR:

SIR—I take the liberty of sending to you the inclosed article, signed by my name, and which expresses my views, without consultation with any political organization whatever, upon the duty and sole duty of the Government of the United States at this time, which is *to suppress the rebellion by the military force of the country by the most vigorous movements possible.* I should be pleased to know from yourself whether these views meet your approbation, and if not, in what respects you dissent from them.

I have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, your ob't serv't,

and Fellow-Citizen,

HIRAM KETCHUM.

ANSWER OF GOV. SEYMOUR.

NEW YORK, *Oct.* 14, 1862.

DEAR SIR:

I have read with great pleasure your letter published in the *Journal of Commerce*. Although the questions you put to Congressional Candidates are not addressed to me, I wish to express my satisfaction with your able and clear statement of the great questions upon which the People are to decide at this election.

I have already spoken at length upon the topics of your communication. The limits of a letter will not allow me to state my views as fully as I have already done in my published speeches. I shall therefore only say I cordially concur with your views.

Truly yours, &c.,

(Signed) HORATIO SEYMOUR.

Hon. HIRAM KETCHUM.

The following is the article alluded to:

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CASE STATED.

There exists, and for more than a year past there has existed in these United States, an insurrection against the Government. The insurgents are in arms. It is the duty of the Government to suppress the insurrection. Such an event was contemplated as possible at the time of the formation of the Constitution, and power was given to suppress insurrection. How must this be done? By the military power of the Government. That power consists of the standing army and navy of the country, of volunteer soldiers organized according to law, and of the enrolled militia of the several States. All this power may be called into active service to put down insurrection, and enforce the execution of law, and punish the violation of law. None can dispute that this power is sufficient to suppress the present insurrection, formidable as it is, if properly exerted. There is no other way provided by the Constitution to suppress an insurrection; there need be no other way. The promptitude and readiness with which the people of this country have volunteered to perform this constitutional duty are without parallel in any country. This promptitude and readiness have been the admiration of the civilized world. The President of the United States and his political friends in Congress have had, and now have, the sole management and control of the military force of the country. The President was without experience, and the country too, in suppressing a rebellion so wide-spread and powerful, and it was natural to suppose his administration might commit errors and make mistakes in an untried field of duty. This supposition has been realized; great errors have been committed, and great mistakes

have been made, but an indulgent people, loving their Government, and loyal to the Constitution, and bent upon putting down rebellion, have shown their readiness cheerfully to pardon what seemed amiss, in the belief that though there was little practical wisdom, there was good intention and patriotic purpose. Still there remains, notwithstanding all the failures of the past, an earnest desire and an unconquerable purpose to execute the duty of suppressing the rebellion, in the only constitutional way, by the exercise of the military power of the Government. In this way, and in no other, all true and loyal citizens can unite in the sentiment, "What we now require is, that this battle be fought out, and fought out immediately; that we fight the rebels to-day, and to-morrow, and at all times; that we give them rest neither day nor night; that our blows fall thick and fast; and that there be no intermission in them."

Allow me to add some reasons which powerfully influence my mind for wishing an early termination of this unhappy war. The best, the noblest young men of the country are now in the ranks of the army, impelled to this service by patriotic motives. *These jewels of the land must be cared for.* As a father and a Christian, I am painfully anxious that these young men should be relieved from this service at the earliest day possible, and such of them as have not fallen on the battle-field—and oh! how many have fallen!—should return to their homes, lest, demoralized by a life in camps, they should be shut out from the sublimest hopes of humanity. In my judgment, too, the dearest interests of mankind are suspended upon the prompt, vigorous, and successful action of the military department of this Government. Would to God these utterances could penetrate the ear of the President of the United States, the General-in-Chief, and every officer under their command!

There is force enough now at the command of the Government; and if not, tens of thousands can be added to that force, who will execute this requirement; and I entertain the hope that it will be done before the close of this year. To this end, and to effect this object, I have exerted to the utmost extent of my ability all the influence, small though it be, that I could exercise. In my judgment, what is

now wanted is, that the people of the loyal States, under the lead of the constituted authorities, should manifest increased earnestness to suppress the rebellion; that the great reserved force, the enrolled militia, should be called out and drilled a portion of every working day, so as to be in readiness for immediate action; and that for this purpose all other business, for at least one or two hours of every such day, should be suspended, and the attention of the whole people should be concentrated upon this one single paramount object of suppressing the rebellion AT ONCE. Such a course could not fail to inspire the President, the Generals, and all the forces in the field, with more ardent zeal, and more resolute determination to press on the columns, and accomplish the object desired, the restoration to the whole of the United States of the supremacy of our CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. This course I have pressed upon the consideration of the Governor of this my native State with all the earnestness that I could find language to embody. But in vain. I have anxiously inquired of myself, Why is it in vain? The only answer I can find to this anxious inquiry is, that on the part of those who seek to get control of the President, and have to some extent succeeded, there is no desire that the war should come to an end until slavery is abolished in every State in this Union. They would grieve to have the seceding States return to their allegiance to-morrow, for then slavery would still continue its existence. Be assured that whatever clamor they may make about pressing on the war with vigor, they would deeply lament any energetic action which should terminate the war and leave with the States in which it exists the exclusive power to control the domestic institution of slavery. Hear what one of the most distinguished of this abolition party says in the very speech from which the passage above quoted is taken. I refer to the serenade speech lately made by Brigadier-General James S. Wadsworth in the City of Washington. He says: "It would be criminal folly in the Government if it had overlooked one great element of Southern society which may, and will be as we use it, an element of weakness or of strength—to have overlooked or forgotten that we are fighting against an aristocracy supported by slavery; and it would have been

worse than folly to suppose that *we could suppress the rebellion and yet save that aristocracy.*" The Republican simplicity of General Wadsworth makes him abhor aristocracy and aristocrats. Oh how he hates them! Had he been contemporary with Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Chief Justice Marshall, how studiously would he have avoided the society of these aristocrats!

The constitutional duty of the Government is to suppress the insurrection—General Wadsworth desires the President and the Administration to put down slavery—to suppress aristocracy in the States where it is found. Where did the General Government get the authority to put down a State aristocracy—such an alleged aristocracy, too, as existed in almost every State in this Union when the Constitution was formed? Our sons and brothers and friends must lay down their lives on the battle-field to exterminate aristocracy. Did they volunteer for that? They thought it was to suppress insurrection that they shouldered their muskets and drew their swords. It has been admitted on all hands, heretofore, that the institution of slavery is subject to the exclusive jurisdiction and control of the respective States in which it is found to exist. The well-established principle is clearly stated in the platform on which Mr. Lincoln was elected, in these words: "That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of a State, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends."

I know it will be admitted that in time of peace no power vests in the General Government to control the domestic institutions of a State, but this power is claimed in a time of domestic insurrection, when a war actually exists. I should like to argue this as a Constitutional question with General Wadsworth, or any of his political associates, before any impartial and unprejudiced judicial tribunal in the civilized world, but I will not enter upon that argument here. One thing, however, I will take leave to say—that no greater power exists in this Government to declare the emancipation of slaves in the respective States, because of civil war, than was possessed by Great

Britain as a belligerent in the war of 1812 to declare such emancipation. This Government then denied the power, and was able to maintain such denial. Before such a tribunal as the one supposed General Wadsworth would reap no advantage from his high birth and large possessions. These have given him the assurance to criticise the course of military action pursued by his superior in command, MAJOR-GENERAL MCCLELLAN, with a freedom and severity quite unauthorized by the rank and military experience of General Wadsworth. Censure cast upon a superior military officer for his professional course of action, calculated to impair the confidence of the army in him, is reprehensible in any man; in a military subordinate it is not consistent with the character of an officer or a patriot.

General McClellan yet survives the attacks made on him by General Wadsworth and others; he possesses the confidence of his Government, and the devoted attachment of the army under his command, maintaining the character of a soldier, a scholar, a gentleman, and, more than all, of a GREAT CONQUEROR, for he has learned to rule his own spirit, and when reviled, he reviles not again. He is inferior to General Wadsworth in nothing save in the possession of large wealth.

The power of this Government to emancipate slaves is claimed because the exercise of the power, it is alleged, is necessary to suppress the rebellion. The fact of such necessity is denied. On the contrary, it is affirmed with great confidence that the policy of emancipation avowed by the Administration will serve only to render the suppression of the rebellion more difficult of accomplishment, prolong the war, increase the expense of the Government, and more than all, will require a greater sacrifice of human life. This is easily shown. So far as universal emancipation has been attempted by Congress or the President, it has created division among the people of the loyal States; a large number of this people compose the rank and file of the army; the camps are divided; such division prevents union, not only in sentiment, but in action. This impairs the strength and efficiency of the loyal States in suppressing the insurrection. No such division would have been created, if the single constitutional object of suppressing the insurrection had been declared to be the purpose and policy of the

Government. This purpose would have been prosecuted with as much zeal by the soldiers of Kentucky and Missouri as the soldiers of New York and Massachusetts.

While the avowed policy of emancipation cools the ardor, and thus weakens the loyal States, it strengthens the rebels by uniting them, and intensifying their rebellious sentiments. This result is sufficiently demonstrated by what we know of the enemy. Not that it makes the leaders more desperate, for that would be impossible, but it furnishes these leaders with an argument to shake the fidelity of such of their followers, and there were many such, who yet cherished an attachment to the Union. This argument may be briefly stated thus:—"We told you that a Republican administration would abolish slavery; you disbelieved it, but you now see they are attempting it; we are therefore proved to be right; secession or rebellion upon the coming in of the Lincoln administration stands justified, and must be persevered in."

These are the actual and clearly manifested consequences of attempting more than the suppression of the rebellion.

The conclusion is, that the advocates and supporters of the right and expediency of declaring universal emancipation by the Federal Government in order to suppress this unhappy insurrection, have committed a great error, and they are to be resisted at the ballot-box and on the hustings with all the power and influence that patriotic citizens can employ. There cannot be any doubt on this subject in any sound mind. It is no answer to say that slavery is wrong and ought to be abolished; that cannot make usurpation right. When emancipation comes, as come it will under the influence of an enlightened public sentiment, let it be the result of legislation acknowledged to be lawful. USURPATION IS THE GREAT ENEMY OF POPULAR LIBERTY. Power must be taken in a peaceful, constitutional manner, from the hands of those who would accomplish emancipation by usurpation of power. What one Congress has done, another Congress can undo. The power to change their representatives is with the people; the place to inaugurate that change is at the ballot-box. To that ballot-box let us all rally. The questions to be decided there are: 1st. Shall

we suppress the rebellion in the shortest time possible, by the use of constitutional means, and leave the institution of slavery where it was left at the formation of the Constitution, in common with all other questions of domestic legislation, subject to the jurisdiction of the States respectively? OR 2d. Shall we, in suppressing the rebellion, destroy the institution of slavery, set the slaves in the whole country free, with full power to assert and maintain for themselves, by force or otherwise, equal political and social rights with their former masters?

For one, I will not support any candidate for Congress at the ensuing election who will not fully and unhesitatingly answer the first of these questions in the affirmative, nor will I support any candidate for Congress who answers the second question in the affirmative. I shall do nothing to promote servile war, and when the contest comes between races of men, my place is by the side of the white man.

I belong to no political party organization, never having joined any since the Whig party ceased to exist; but I call upon every Whig, and every son of a Whig, in this State and out of it, to stand by the Constitution of our fathers, and to resist, with all his power and influence, every attempt to subvert or impair this sacred instrument, or any of its provisions. It came to us recommended by GEORGE WASHINGTON; it was ratified by a most intelligent and thoughtful people; we have prospered under it. IT IS OUR ONLY BOND OF UNION.

HIRAM KETCHUM.

WERT
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